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her with cows. She never returned to the district. In time Okech was forgiven and returned to his homestead. He never remarried, but now lives with two leviratic wives.

Suicide Case No. 19.

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This suicide was the junior wife of a very wealthy man. Although he was wealthy, he did not provide the modern luxuries for his wives which are now becoming customary and which carry high status among women. This woman decided that she would take matters into her own hands and killed a goat belonging to herself in order to sell the meat at the market to get money and millet, so that she could get the things that she desired. When her co-wives saw what she had done, they took part of the millet and some of the money. The woman appealed to her husband, but he sided with his other wives. That evening she went into the bush near the village and hanged herself.

Suicide Case No. 20.

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This woman was the second wife (*nyachieu*) of a wealthy man who preferred his first and third wives to her. This preferential treatment gave them courage to abuse her often and to show her that they were the only wives of the husband. On one occasion, when she was quarrelling with the husband, the other two wives joined in and beat her and abused her. The husband looked on in amusement. Shortly after, he took hold of her son and began to cane him, saying that he was as bad as his mother. His mother tried to interfere, but was prevented from doing so by her co-wives, who continued to beat her. As soon as it got dark that night, she disappeared. Her son had run away to her mother's home. The people from the village and her relatives searched for her for three days, and at the end of the third day, her people began to mourn as if she were dead. The head of a goat was buried in front of her house to represent her body, for they were certain that she was dead and her body devoured by wild animals.

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the babies. With the exception of a few children in progressive households, both pagan and Christian children go without clothes; and even when they have them their provision is meagre. There is, however, a tendency for Christian children to be better clothed than those in pagan families, and the latter continue to walk naked for a much longer time.

Bedding is scanty. Dried hides, mats, and old clothes are used, the child's bedding and the mother's being usually the same. Very rarely does the mother sleep apart from her child, and only a few modern parents form an exception in constructing small beds for their children. In the daytime, when asleep, they are generally laid in some shady place beside the house, or on hides, old rags, or mats. Those who have beds may use them, but the majority of children are placed in the open where dust not infrequently blows into their mouths.

Mental and Physical Development

According to the mothers interviewed, the earliest signs of mental and physical development in babies are smiling and lifting of the arms, actions which take place after the second month. This early smile may not be an expression of pleasure but merely an imitation of the mother, who begins to tickle her baby while smiling herself in order to induce it to smile. This induced smile is more noticeable after the third month.

During the fourth month, the child generally plays alone wherever it is put down, provided that it has no serious illness. By the fifth month the senses of hearing and seeing have so far developed that when it hears a noise, the child listens and looks in the right direction.

The period of sitting the child up begins during the sixth month, although trials are made early in the fifth month, while in the course of the seventh month, with

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856 not begin to speak until after two years, when they are
868 barely able to construct short simple sentences.

Discipline

861 Formal training in discipline begins as early as the
855 seventh month, at the time when the child may put some dirty object to its lips. Thus a mother, finding her child with soil in its mouth, may slap it gently as she removes the soil, or the hands of the child may be tapped with anything convenient. A child crawling towards the fire would be immediately pulled away, and sometimes it might be frightened with the glowing end of a burning twig in order to impress the danger upon its mind.

856 It is never certain when a child is first going to walk,
164 for the conditions under which children are brought up are such that it is impossible for them to escape being seriously ill at one time or another. Hence the period is largely determined by the health of the child. The average time ranges from eleven to fourteen months. A child who develops very rapidly through the early stages causes its parents much worry, for it is believed that a fast-growing child never survives.

855 *Effects of the child's emotions.* The mother's attitude to-
[844] wards the emotions of the child is based on the deep impression left on her mind by the strain of the birth. Thus, I have come across women who told me quite convincingly that whenever they heard one of their children cry out vigorously they again felt the pain they had experienced during its birth. A mother tolerates the emotional outbursts of her child not only because she loves it but even more because she struggled to bear it. This seems to be the real cause of the so-called humanity of women towards children in contrast with the indifference sometimes shown by men. Instead of setting the

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mother against the child, the child's emotions of anger or suffering have the effect of reminding the mother of their physiological connection. When a mother is unable to pacify her crying child she generally feels a quite personal sense of depression. [855] [152]

On the other hand, signs of pleasure in a child give its mother the greatest satisfaction. If a child has a happy nature, even the most critical of neighbouring relatives are pleased, and frequently comment or compliment the mother upon it. The desire to share the emotions of her children leads a mother to begin laughing with them and tickling them while they are very young. [152]

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II

CHILDHOOD

Between Two and Six Years

856 *Physical development.* Between the ages of two and five the means of locomotion mature. Healthy children are able during this period to walk and run about, and, even as early as this, young boys and girls begin to show subtle differences in their motor behaviour. Female children are less vigorous in their muscular movements, while male children tend to exaggerate them. But on the whole both sexes make good use of this newly acquired power. There is an increased desire to move about, intensified by a wish to meet young acquaintances at play.

855 The work of the nurse then changes. Instead of looking
857 after the child, she does simple housework, such as fetching water from the stream or well, and collecting firewood. In place of being its foster-mother she becomes the child's major playmate.

From this time onwards children grow rather thin. It is assumed that this slenderness of body is a sign that they are growing up. It is also believed that at this time male children are stronger than their female contemporaries.

856 *Mental development.* The mental development of a child
868 of this age is marked by a predominance of fantasy play, and a rapid mastery of spoken language. The imaginative play occupies longer periods than the other activities. The child learns language from its playmates as well as from the conscious efforts of members of its family. The effectiveness of the speech taught by its parents becomes more pronounced while the orders given begin to be better understood.

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The next step is for the child to be taught the names of those who visit the family. By this means it also learns how to know the relatives who are not living in the family home. Children of two to five know very few people beyond the members of their own family circle. Thus Obala, at three years old, did not know who I was, although I had been to her home and talked to her many times. Her parents told me that this was due to their never having told her my name. §47

Feeding. The food children eat at this stage is the same as that given to the adult members of the family, the only difference being that the children are not restricted to feeding at particular times. However little it may be, a certain amount of food is always left for them in the pot. §24 §55

The children go out to play when the adults go to their different duties. In the middle of the day they return much exhausted and ask for the portion put aside for them after the morning meal. When there is only one child, the mother, before leaving for her day's work, tells it where to find this food. The varied and exacting activities of a child of this age make food an important factor in its life. [§57]

Play

The play groups. The child begins its association with the play groups through the action of the nurses. At first the nurse, next to the mother, is its chief playmate. Through her the child comes into contact with children from neighbouring families and thus acquires friends and playmates. Although it takes the child a long time to make new friends, its social life begins as early as the seventh month when the nurses, wishing to play nearby, seat two babies side by side where they may learn to play together. §57 §72

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157 524 repeated until all the fallen stones have been collected, when it is considered that the game is won. The rules are, however, more complicated than this brief sketch has made them appear.

Discipline

857 865 During the period between two and six years, the children have a tendency to play with their friends until late in the evening. The playground may be quite removed from the house; hence parents often have to take strict action to keep their children within the bounds of their homesteads. When they are disobedient, the [864] normal disciplinary action is whipping. At this age female children are instructed to sit with their knees together. If one of them sits carelessly she is either warned or whipped. Among her duties are the fetching of firewood or dishes for food, and if she refuses to fetch firewood for anyone in the village she may be whipped. [868] She cannot, of course, be asked to bring fire from a neighbouring home, or to light it, because she lacks the experience necessary for this task. Crying without a cause is sternly repressed and if it is persisted in it earns the child a whipping.

• 855 863 *Training in decency.* Luo children from two years upwards are greatly neglected so far as clothes, washing, and training in decency are concerned. Hence the general appearance of these children is that of dirty little creatures whose clothes are stained with the soil in which they play. Some mothers admit that they fail to wash their children for as long as three days. Other mothers do not worry at all, assuming that their children will go with the older children to wash themselves.

863 Children old enough to walk about are strictly instructed not to empty their bowels inside the home but in front of the house beyond the enclosure. Once shown

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862 child. Having in the beginning created the child's liking for her breasts she must resort to crude methods to shift the child's interest to other sources. Hence weaning is not only a break in the time-honoured connection between mother and child, but also a significant psychological factor in the child's development. A closer analytical study of children would help to show how far the fears established during infancy influence their later emotional life.

Parent-child Relationship

856 593 The relationship between parents and children from the age of two to six is principally determined by two factors: discipline and the provision of food. Parents feel that children of both sexes tend to prefer their mother partly because of her frequent contact with them, and even more because their food in its ready form is under her control.

In feeding children a mother's sympathies often prevent her from restricting their food, but the reverse situation may exist and sometimes we find a father who loves his child so much that he will give it all the food it desires. If the father is more severe than the mother in this respect the child naturally prefers the mother, and, similarly, a child will prefer a father who feeds it to a mother who restricts its food.

855 593 603 A further complication arises when the grandparents come into the matter. So delicately balanced is this relationship depending on food and discipline that the slightest difference is sufficient to draw the child towards those who favour it. This means that if the grandparents offer it better conditions, the child will stay with them most of the time. Hence, when I was once talking to a couple I know, I was informed that their daughter would not remain with them but preferred her grand-

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parents—a fact which had already struck me during my visits to the family. Although I have frequently visited them, I have seldom found the children there, and even more rarely at meal times. This situation would have become more pronounced when the children were weaned.

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857 ing interest in her body and in the opposite sex. It may
856 be said that the loss of concern for her charge and concentration on herself is a sign announcing the emotional disturbances of adolescence. Young girls of this age now

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NURSE: AYOMA

857 consider nursing beneath their dignity, and their revolt
856 is encouraged by increasing association with members of the opposite sex who would disdain talking to a child-nurse.

● 855 *Feeding.* The girls of this age group[5] eat normal adult
264 food, at the same time as adults, but the younger members of the group occasionally have a little food kept for them by their mothers. The consideration shown them as children depends on whether there are others younger

[5] [i.e. From six to eleven years old - Analyst.]

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855 264 than themselves. As the girls grow older, feeding at odd times is restricted. The girls eat with the mother while their brothers eat with the father. The mother of the family takes particular care that the brothers get some food and even though she may go without herself, she sees that the children eat.

868 *Female education at school-going age.* The traditional education as given by the parents is strictly utilitarian. Its main aim is to prepare the girl for her future as a wife in a family and as a mother of children.

868 312 The girls accompany their mothers or older associates to fetch water, the younger ones being given a very little water in a small pot, usually used for milking. Larger pots are given to the girl as she grows older and stronger, the girls of six and seven being eager to imitate their older playmates. A few of the male children like to go to fetch water with similar containers, but their mothers do not encourage them. The mother of a young girl watches her carefully to see if she is interested in imitating these activities before giving any encouragement.

868 [241] [252] When the girl, at the age of eight or nine, expresses a desire to dig, the mother takes her to a garden early in the morning to let her do so, and releases her at about eight o'clock before the sun becomes too hot. At this time too, if a grinding stone is available, the mother teaches her child to grind corn, this being a continuation of the interest in grinding soil shown at play. The older girls of the group are instructed in giving gruel to the young children they nurse.

868 252 861 In the preparation of food, the girls first learn how to prepare gruel for the babies. But proper cooking comes very gradually and they learn it under the constant observation of the adult members of the family. The food cooked is first tasted by the parents only, when criticisms are openly made and encouragement of future

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success given. In this atmosphere the girl slowly learns to master the art. It is not until she is thoroughly competent that she is allowed to prepare food for visitors.

Relationship with elder children in the family. At first the young girl grows up in fear of and with a submissive attitude towards her older brothers and sisters, the attitude of fear decreasing towards her sisters as she begins more and more to share the same activities. Thus by the time the girls reach adolescence there is a growing feeling of companionship which brings them closer to each other in their everyday tasks, and any dominating attitude becomes consequently weaker. But among boys this attitude persists into adulthood, weakening only with the independence which adult life brings with it. Bullying is less noticeable among girls; boys of the school-going age become very tyrannical with their younger brothers and sisters, and their behaviour leads to frequent squabbles.

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The attitude of a girl towards her older brothers and sisters is influenced by the treatment she receives from them. She can be sent on an errand by any older member of the family. Thus an elder child often passes orders on to her juniors since the errands in a large family are many and frequent. In this way the young girl learns to avoid and perhaps to dislike certain members of the family. As she grows older, she in turn exercises disciplinary action over those beneath her.

Parental attitude. The father plays a rather detached role, but in actual fact he retains a deep-seated interest in his growing daughter as a future promise of wealth. Though fundamentally mothers are equally interested in sons and daughters, they have at this time a more direct influence over their girls. A mother is interested in her daughter partly through her maternal responsibility and partly because of the girl's immediate value to the family, the father being more definitely concerned

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593 with the male children. Maternal control over the
855 young girl is very great and remains about the same when she reaches adolescence, though at this time the father's control becomes increasingly essential in keeping the growing personalities of the family in order.

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YOUNG GIRLS GOING TO FETCH WATER

857 THE BEGINNING OF SPECIALISED ACTIVITIES
868 The school-going age marks the period when male and female children part company. Young girls become increasingly occupied with domestic work, such as fetching water and firewood, tending babies and watching the fire, while male children of the same age continue to play in groups for a much longer period. Apart from herding, which is now less general than in the past, boys of school-

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The strongest tie of relationship exists between the children of one mother. This close relationship extends to the maternal as well as the paternal grandparents. Children may be taken to the maternal relatives while they are still young, or they may sometimes go for visits when they are a little older. Although they share the same father, the relationship of the children with those of the other houses is much less close, because the mother in each house thinks first of the future of her own children. For this reason the undue wealth of any one particular house is viewed with alarm in the other houses and a mother will maintain a constant watch on the other sections of the family lest their successes should overshadow her own children. 595 603

When a child goes to stay with its maternal grandparents it is often spoilt by their too readily shown affection and their unwillingness to teach it discipline. Hence parents complain that children who spend most of their time with their maternal relatives are unruly and difficult to manage when they return to their homes. 603 855